

EXHIBIT N

(Part I)



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TEMPO

INVESTIGATION

THE SHADOW OF THE PMDB IN PETROBRAS

The complaints about João Augusto Henriques, a representative of the party at the state-owned company, show the interests involved in deals that mix politics and public money

Diego Escosteguy

João Augusto was silent. He stayed leaning towards the front, supporting himself on the table on his forearms. He continuously tapped the coffee spoon on the edge of the saucer – and kept his gaze fixed on the interviewer. He seemed immune to the brouhaha of the other tables in Café Severino, at the back of Livraria Argumento in Leblon, in Rio de Janeiro, on that Friday evening, August 2. The second glass of mineral water, too. João Augusto had been talking for a little more than one hour. Up

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until now he had said little of relevance about the matter that obliged him to be there: the complaints of corruption against officers with connections to the PMDB, inside Petrobras. In light of the documents and the information obtained by ÉPOCA about his part in the scheme, João Augusto's answers were evasive. For some uncertain reason, something had changed in the last few minutes. The assumed countenance disappeared. I hoped his silence would end.

- “What do you want to know?” he said.

- “About the deals,” I responded.

It was then that João Augusto Rezende Henrique said, without lowering his voice or looking to either side: “What I got (*in the contracts brokered with Petrobras*), I had to give to the party (*PMDB*). That was the agreement, a percentage that depended on the deal.” The coffee spoon was no longer clinking.

That started a vent motivated by the complaints that ÉPOCA had been investigating for nearly one month. The case involved Petrobras – the largest company in the country, the 25th largest in the world, with annual revenues of R\$ 281 billion. It started with just one project: a contract signed in 2009 in Buenos

Aires, by the attorney and former senator Sérgio Tourinho, and the Argentine, Jorge Rottemberg. In the document it was established that Tourinho would receive US\$ 10 million from a company in Uruguay, which is known to be a tax haven, if Petrobras sold the San Lorenzo Refinery, appraised at US\$ 110 million, to the businessman Cristóbal Lopez, known as the czar of the game in Argentina, and a friend of President Cristina Kirchner. At the time of the first visit, the contract did not make sense. Why would a lobbyist from Buenos Aires agree to pay US\$ 10 million to a Brazilian attorney from Brasília, if that attorney, without any experience in the electricity sector, managed to close the sale of a Petrobras refinery in Argentina?

ÉPOCA went looking for an answer in interviews with business partners, congressmen, and employees with connections to the PMDB. The attorney, Tourinho, was a partner of the PMDB’s lobbyists, who worked in partnership with Jorge Zelada, Director of Petrobras International since 2008, and according to João Augusto, sponsored by the PMDB. The San Lorenzo

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operation, he said, was not an isolated case. It was just one of the many businesses closed by PMDB operators in Petrobras' International area. According to João Augusto, all contracts in Petrobras' International area had to go by him, João Augusto, who charged a toll of the interested businesspeople. According to him, from 60% to 70% of the money collected from the businesspeople was passed through to the PMDB, particularly to the party's contingent from Minas Gerais in the House, which was the main party responsible for appointing Zelada to Petrobras. According to João Augusto, the money was used to pay for campaigns or to line the pockets of the congressmen. The rest, he said, was divided between him and his operators inside Petrobras – those responsible for handling the contracts.

According to João Augusto and four other PMDB lobbyists, the money was distributed to many people in Brasília. The majority went to ten senators in the party in Minas Gerais, including the current Minister of Agriculture, Antonio Andrade, and the President of the House Finance Committee, João Magalhães. According to João Augusto, the money did not only go

to that group. According to his report and to the report of other lobbyists, the Secretary of Finance of the PT [Workers Party], João Vaccari, received the equivalent of US\$ 8 million during Dilma Rousseff's presidential campaign of 2010. João Augusto said that together with Vaccari he organized the pass-through to Dilma's campaign. The money, according to him, was paid by Odebrecht, due to a contract worth billions closed in the International area of Petrobras, which needed the approval of then-President of the state-owned company, José Sergio Gabrielli, of the PT. Dilma's campaign declared to Electoral Justice that it received R\$ 2.4 million from Odebrecht.

The financial coordinator of Dilma Rousseff's campaign, José de Filippi Júnior, says that he does not know João Augusto. "I can assure you that he did not participate in collecting funds for the campaign of President Dilma Rousseff; all collections were done by means of Electronic Bank

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Transfers, and the accounts of the President's campaign were approved by the Superior Electoral Court," he said.

The complaints against João Augusto are contested by the accused. Vaccari said that he was not responsible for the treasury of Dilma's campaign. He also says that "all donations to the PT are made according to what is determined by the legislation in force, and according to the PT's policy of transparency." Through means of a note Gabrielli said that he had not spoken about the Odebrecht contract with Vaccari. Zelada says he does not know about João Augusto's participation in the intermediation of contracts at Petrobras, and he denies having been appointed by the PMDB. In a note, Petrobras stated that it would not comment on the matter. Despite all of the responses, the article by ÉPOCA confirmed, through interviews in three cities, various points of the deposition of João Augusto. Official investigations are still necessary to ascertain the facts on all of the complaints.

A DIRECTORATE FOR THE PMDB

In January 2008, then-President Lula agreed to deliver the International Division of Petrobras to the PMDB. More specifically to

the group that headed the PMDB in the House of Representatives. A career engineer at Petrobras, João Augusto was introduced to politics in the mid-1990s, when he was a Director at BR Distribuidora, Petrobras' fuel company. In order to carry out any type of relevant operation at BR, João Augusto needed the help of the other officers. At the beginning, he did not get it. "I didn't have the slightest idea about how things worked," he said. But then I met Benjamin Steinbruch (*the owner of CSN*), who explained to me that it was necessary to have political support in order to do things. Steinbruch called Tasso Jereissati (*of the PSDB*), who called Marcelo Alencar (*governor of Rio de Janeiro, also of the PSDB*). Alencar advised Joel Rennó (*then-President of Petrobras*): "Hey, João Augusto is with us," said João Augusto. And I laughed at the memories. "I had no idea what 'being with us' meant... From that time on, a lot changed. From water to wine. Everything happened. You start changing. The real world is something else, and I had to adapt to it." In just a short amount of time, João Augusto migrated from the PSDB



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to the PMDB – according to him, through work of then-representative Michel Temer. In 1999, João Augusto prospered in politics and in business. According to him, he had help from the PMDB in becoming a Director at Petrobras. But a serious case of Hepatitis C kept him from assuming that position. In order to survive, he needed two liver transplants and four months in a hospital in London.

Upon his return to Brazil, João Augusto left Petrobras. “I went out to make deals,” he said. According to him, he used his knowledge and the network of contacts he had accumulated during his years at Petrobras to help businessmen with interests in the company. He knew which professionals and officers to approach, depending on the matter – and, especially, which methods of persuasion to use for each. “Petrobras has three types of guys: the technical, the political, and the company man,” he said. A technician is not going to change what he thinks because you say so. What he wants is to visit the project, travel in a helicopter, feel important from time to time. He thinks he deserves it. The company man does what the boss tells him to do. He doesn’t want to know what it is. He doesn’t even think twice. Today that

place is full of company men. And the politician is the one who watches things inside the company; he takes care of his friends, of the personnel in his area, of the politicians. If you mess up your approach, confuse one with the other, you fall flat on your face. I know how to make the right approach.”

With all of these credentials, João Augusto was the PMDB’s favorite name for assuming the position of Director at Petrobras, which Lula promised to the party’s representatives in January 2008. His name, however, was barred in the State Department: João Augusto had been sentenced by the Audit Court of Brazil to pay a fine of R\$ 500,000 because of irregularities committed while he was a director at BR Distribuidora. Representative Fernando Diniz, who headed the PMDB’s bench from Minas Gerais, broke the bad news to him. And asked for an alternative name. João Augusto indicated one of his best friends at the company, an engineer named Zelada, who worked with one of the officers at the state-owned company, who was a member of the PT. After naming Zelada, João Augusto became, according to representatives and lobbyists, the director “in fact” of the International area. “Zelada’s function was to

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follow the orders of João Augusto,” said a lobbyist from the PMDB.

In order to ensure that the party’s operations ran as expected, João Augusto recruited experts he trusted at Petrobras. He distributed his classmates from Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro throughout the International area. Sócrates José became Zelada’s cabinet head. He was the guide for the group’s partners that visited Petrobras’ headquarters for meetings. “If the project was good for Petrobras, I moved it forward. I did this out of friendship,” said Sócrates. He also had the mission of reporting what he saw and heard to João Augusto.

José Carlos Amigo became the manager for the Latin American division. This division, according to João Augusto, was involved in contracting a drill ship from the company Vantage for US\$ 1.6 billion – an operation which, he said, resulted in commission of US\$ 14.5 million, US\$ 10 million of which was passed through to the PMDB. Clóvis Correa became the Director of Petrobras Argentina, where the company had the San Lorenzo refinery. According to João Augusto and the

others involved in the business, Clóvis participated in the meetings that took place in hotels, and he received a part of the “success” fee of US\$ 10 million. Fernando Cunha, the only one who did not study with the others, became the manager for the businesses in Africa. João Augusto said that he participated in the purchase of a field in Namibia, an operation that was handled after he had closed a commission with the company that held the control in that field.

THE REPRESENTATIVES' LACK OF UNDERSTANDING

According to those involved, the representatives did not understand how Petrobras worked, and how much could be collected per month. Two lobbyists from the PMDB state that a goal of R\$ 150,000 per month was stipulated for the party. During a lunch at the barbecue restaurant Porcão, on a sunny Sunday at the start of 2009, Representative Fernando Diniz, sitting next to advisers and lobbyists, complained of Zelada’s “performance.” “‘Gelada’ is not delivering,” he said to his friends. That perception is confirmed by João Augusto. “At first, they (*the PMDB representatives*) thought

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there was a lot (*at Petrobras*). There was not. Those guys didn't understand. They thought that we (*the pair of João Augusto and Zelada*) were working in bad faith. They did not understand that Petrobras has one division, one Board, that you can't just do whatever you want to," he said.

The demands of the representatives exasperated João Augusto. "If you don't have very good foundations for the amounts, the guy (*politician*) comes and gets the money that's in your wallet," he said. "You have to know how to deal with it. The worst thing for you to do in a political request is to shelve it. Or for you to say: 'It doesn't work like this.' Or you say: 'I can do it like this' (*according to the company's interests*). I'm not a virgin. I like to make money," said João Augusto. "But I don't do things that are going to hurt Petrobras, like Pasadena (*the refinery in the United States where the company lost money*). From zero to ten, on an ethical scale, I'm not zero, but I'm also not ten. I'm not a bandit, no. I'm a three or a two. I have to be recognized as a technical guy, a business guy, but I don't do s..."

João Augusto took a short pause, asked for more mineral water, and continued: "When I was at BR, I couldn't stop the train. If I had tried, I would have been run over. I had to get onto the train in order to take it in the direction I wanted to. I sold alcohol when I was Director at BR. You have no idea. All of Brazil sought me out. Every politician knows a manufacturer who wants to buy (*under the best conditions*). What could I do? I created a better spreadsheet of the things that BR really needed to sell, and I had it separate. Whenever I had to handle a political request, I got that spreadsheet and I tried to reconcile what it had, which was what was in the company's interest, with the politician's request."

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What seems to make João Augusto uncomfortable, and perhaps has contributed to his vent, is the imbalance between the interests of the politicians, who charge increasingly more of operators like him, and the interests of Petrobras. “Petrobras always had political influence. But the decision was technical. The politics adapted to the technical. If, for example, the engineers were to decide that it was necessary to have a refinery in the Northeast, the politicians would fight so they could choose in which state. But the refinery was necessary,” he said. “From then until now, that has reversed. The politicians decide that there will be a refinery in Maranhão or in Ceará, and the technicians have to get after it.” He credits this reversal, as well as the others heard in this report to former President Lula. “The PT played it too much. People who didn’t have skills climbed quickly.”

THE ATREU PROJECT

The sale of the San Lorenzo refinery was, for the group, the start of the sale of all of Petrobras’ assets in Argentina. “The one who discovered Argentina was me,” said João Augusto. It was suggested to him that he hire Brazilian attorneys. “People who are going to do business abroad, it would be good to receive through an attorney here. Everything nice and pretty. I went for it. We did a contract to receive everything through them (*attorneys*) and each one was going to get their part later.” (By means of a note, the attorney Sérgio Tourinho states that he was hired” to perform legal monitoring” during the sale of the San Lorenzo Refinery. “At a certain time, they told me that some of my fees had to be passed through to third parties. Of course I didn’t agree. Because of that, I had the contract rescinded.”)

If the refinery were sold to Cristóbal,

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Cristina Kirchner's friend, according to João Augusto the lobbyists would get US\$ 10 million. The division of the "success" fee shows the power of the PMDB in Petrobras' businesses abroad. According to his accounting, of the US\$ 10 million, US\$ 8.5 million was destined for João Augusto. "I had to pass through US\$ 5 million to the PMDB. The majority of this was the PMDB of Minas, because it was Fernando (*Diniz*). From there, I don't know who they paid, or how much. Congressmen are s... You give something to one, and from there you can't know if he gave it to one, if he gave it to a half dozen, if he kept it (*the money*)..."

Among them, the operation, it is not known why, was known as the "Atreu Project." In September and October 2009, the lobbyists met many times in the meeting room of the Hilton Hotel in Buenos Aires, to move forward with talks. One person who was definitely present, according to João Augusto, was Director Clóvis Correa. (Today Clóvis is an adviser for Transpetro, a Petrobras company run by the PMDB, and he denies having participated in the negotiations to sell the San Lorenzo refinery). "Clóvis

was with us at every meeting. As he had been my classmate at the university, and I had a good relationship with him, I was calmer about it," said João Augusto. He says that in the meetings, he reached agreements with other lobbyists to make payments to accounts abroad. One of the mentioned accounts, according to one of the lobbyists, was identified as Tiger, in China – an account used by black market currency dealers to make payments to parties like the PT and the PMDB, as affirmed by the Federal Police in 2009 in Operation Sand Castle, which investigated complaints about payments of bribes to politicians.

While the sale of the refinery advanced, the group created an official union to organize future businesses within Petrobras. They even signed an individual partnership agreement, in which they agreed to divide up the contracts that each one obtained. The union did not last very long. It was a lot of money and there was little trust among them. João Augusto demanded that the others raise their stake from US\$ 6.8 million to US\$ 8.8 million, due to a



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requirement from the PMDB. “He said that the PMDB needed to get cash for the 2010 campaign,” said one of the lobbyists. There was a fight between them, but the attorney, Tourinho, agreed to sign an amendment to the principal success contract, reducing his stake and the stakes of the others to US\$ 1.2 million.

João Augusto wanted to have a separate contract with the Argentines. He says that he went all the way to Buenos Aires to try to persuade Rottemberg, the operator of the deal on the Argentine side, entrusted by Cristina Kirchner’s friend, to pay the Brazilians. Fearing that his partners in the PMDB did not believe his work, João Augusto took a witness: Felipe Diniz, the son of Congressman Fernando Diniz, who died recently. At that time, pressure from the PMDB for results was immense. “I used the name of the PMDB so that everyone would know that the party wasn’t applying the whip to me, but that I was applying the whip to the party,” said João Augusto. The new contract, he affirms, did not work out. In May 2010, Petrobras announced the sale of the refinery for US\$ 110 million, to the businessman Cristóbal Lopez. “The deal went through, but I did not receive anything. They (*the other lobbyists*) received something. And the guy who I thought I could trust, Clóvis, was the one who received the most. I had commitments and I played the idiot’s role. The only stance I could take was to order Zelada

to remove Clóvis from Pesa (*Petrobras Argentina*).”

“MAN, THEY'RE ALWAYS ON CAMPAIGN, YOU KNOW?”

Not all operations were as difficult as the sale of the San Lorenzo Refinery. During the same period, João Augusto said that he closed a contract for US\$ 1.6 billion so that Petrobras could use the drill ship, the Titanium Explorer, owned by the company Vantage. The contract resulted in commission of US\$ 14.5 million, which should have been paid in three installments. According to João Augusto, the first was paid at the start of 2009; the second was paid immediately thereafter. The third, he said, was not paid, due to a fight within Vantage. The partner who was part of the contract is today being sued by the other partners who accuse him of having diverted funds from the company. “I passed through US\$ 10 million to the PMDB,” he said. In that case, he did not specify names. “To whomever has the right in the party. That is the rule.” Was it money for the campaign? “Man, they are always on campaign, you know?” he said.

(The pass-through) was greater than 50%. It could be 60% or 70%. It depended on the deal. [...] In the International area (of Petrobras), If I do something, I have to help the party. Because it was the party that indicated Zelada. The world is like that. And it’s like that anywhere.” Next he said: “If I

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did a deal in another division, I didn't have a fee (*commission*) for the party. And I said to them: here I don't owe anything." João Augusto



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seemed genuinely hurt by his partners in the PMDB. “After you get to know the framework, you don’t sleep easier. You think it’s easy to deny that I’m calling you? ‘The campaign is there...’ I deny cussing out Zelada because money wasn’t coming in.” At the same time, he seemed to feel guilty for not meeting the high expectations of the congressmen: “Those guys treated me so well... You feel like you have to help the group.”

And the one who coordinated the “group,” after the death of Fernando Diniz? “One moment it was (*congressman*) Mauro Lopes, another it was (*congressman*) João Magalhães.” (Mauro Lopes affirms that he has known João Augusto for more than 20 years, and said that he suggested his name to work in the International Division of Petrobras to then-leader of the PMDB group from Minas Gerais, Fernando Diniz. And he denies having benefited from money pass-throughs). “I don’t know how it was divided: for those they gave money to, it went fine... I only issued orders.” João Augusto goes into the details of the transactions: “Normally, (*the congressmen*) gave me money (*in an account abroad*) and I sent it via a black market money changer.” He says he always received complaints. “It was a lot of people (*to receive*). One operation of US\$ 5 million seems fine, but [...] there were 10, 12 people. In the

end, (*the congressmen*) thought it was a pile of s...”

A CPI HERE,

A CONTRACT THERE

After two hours of revelations, João Augusto seems ready to tell his biggest achievement according to the other PMDB lobbyists: the contract for nearly US\$ 1 billion between the International area of Petrobras and the construction company Odebrecht, closed on the eve of the second round of the 2010 election. According to the contract, Odebrecht would handle environmental safety for Petrobras in ten countries.

- And Odebrecht?

- Odebrecht? I put everything together.

João Augusto said that at the peak of the CPI on Petrobras in the Senate, in the second half of 2009, the reporter for the committee, Congressman Romero Jucá of the PMDB, who was also a government leader, invited him to a meeting in Brasília. He said they would reach an agreement with then-President of Petrobras, Gabrielli: the PMDB would help bury the CPI, which was already getting cold, and in exchange Gabrielli would not create difficulties in the approval by the Executive Officers of Petrobras for the “Odebrecht” project. Tell João to

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present," Gabrielli said, according to João Augusto's report. Shortly

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thereafter, in December 2009, Jucá presented his final report that waived Petrobras from irregularities. The CPI died as projected. (Jucá denies having called João Augusto to Brasília to handle the contract between Petrobras and Odebrecht. “There was no type of conversation with Gabrielli about any contract in exchange for a CPI. Because I was a government leader, I was handling it with all seriousness.”)

To do the contract, João Augusto says that he had a “working group, technical, serious.” “We worked on that for a year. Petrobras really needed to consolidate those environmental operations abroad. The company did not know the size of the liability, who took care of what. It was necessary to centralize it,” says João Augusto. Why not do a bid? “Odebrecht had to win.” It was actually my idea. Because of its size. Because of the standard,” he said.

Petrobras formally invited other construction companies. All declined. Odebrecht got it. Having been heard with respect to the case, Odebrecht denies having signed a contract with João Augusto Henriques. And it states in a note: “The statement that Odebrecht paid the equivalent of US\$ 8 million for the 2010 campaign of President Dilma Rousseff, through the Secretary of Finance of the PT, João Vaccari, is not correct. Odebrecht made its donations within a Republican vision and in favor of democracy and the economic and social development of the country, strictly complying with the limits and conditions imposed by electoral legislation.”

At the time at which Gabrielli should have fulfilled his part of the agreement with Jucá, the PMDB was betrayed, said João Augusto. “When it (*Odebrecht*) won, Gabrielli did everything to overturn it among the Executive Officers. The CPI, of course,

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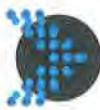
had already passed. I wanted to f... the deal. The contract went onto the agenda of the Executive Officers, but they beat around the bush." With his political experience, João Augusto knew what to do. He says that first he spoke with his partners at Odebrecht. Then he sought out Vaccari, who was also considered to be a PT man at Petrobras. "I advised him: Odebrecht is going to help you in the campaign. Go and fix it with them," said João Augusto. What is the correct value? "They gave, more or less, the equivalent of US\$ 8 million to Vaccari," he said.

The difficulties among upper management continued for a few more weeks. On October 26, 2010, five days before the second round between Dilma and José Serra of the PSDB, Petrobras' Executive Officers approved the contract. "Everyone got something. The party, me, and the people who helped. Whoever helps gets something," said João Augusto. And who got something? He doesn't respond. "People from the inside (*of Petrobras*) whom I pay." How much did the PMDB receive? "It was US\$ 10 million or US\$ 11 million. I don't mess with others' money. Odebrecht has its own channels with the government parties," he said. And how was payment made? Their part (*PT and*

PMDB) I don't know. Mine was made abroad," he said. "All of the contracts are like that."

The Odebrecht contract seems to have been the last huge operation of João Augusto's class. Shortly thereafter, in Dilma's government, the gaming decreased. Many of the officers with ties to the PT left. Zelada lost power and requested to be let go in July of last year. João Augusto, however, continues chasing business at Petrobras. He recently participated in the sale of the company that Petrobras has in an electricity distributor in Argentina. "You are not going to believe it, but I don't need politicians to make money. I make more without them," said João Augusto, before getting up to leave. I paid the bill. ◇

With Flávia Tavares, Marcelo Rocha,
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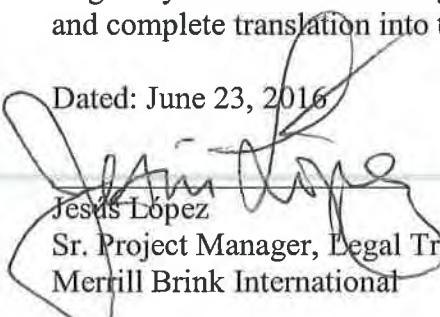
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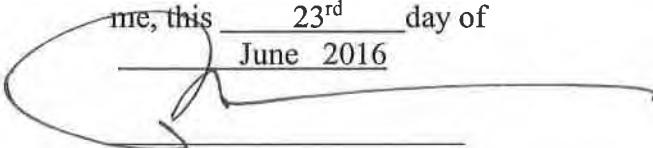
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originally written in the Portuguese language is, to the best of our knowledge and belief, a true, accurate and complete translation into the English language.

Dated: June 23, 2016


Jesus Lopez
Sr. Project Manager, Legal Translations
Merrill Brink International

Sworn to and signed before
me, this 23rd day of
June 2016


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INVESTIGAÇÃO

A SOMBRA DO PMDB NA PETROBRAS

As denúncias de João Augusto Henriques, operador do partido na estatal, revelam os interesses envolvidos nos negócios que misturam política e dinheiro público

Diego Escosteguy

João Augusto estava em silêncio. Permanecia inclinado à frente, apoiava-se na mesa com os antebraços. Batia, sem parar, a colherzinha de café na borda do pires – e mantinha o olhar fixo no interlocutor. Parecia alheio à balbúrdia das outras mesas no Café Severino, nos fundos da Livraria Argumento do Leblon, no Rio de Janeiro, naquela noite de sexta-feira, dia 2 de agosto. A xícara dele já estava vazia. O segundo copo de água mineral, também. João Augusto falava havia pouco mais de uma hora. Até

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então, pouco dissera de relevante sobre o assunto que o obrigara a estar ali: as denúncias de corrupção contra diretores ligados ao PMDB, dentro da Petrobras. Diante dos documentos e das informações obtidos por ÉPOCA sobre sua participação no esquema, João Augusto respondia evasivamente. Por alguma razão incerta, algo mudara nos últimos minutos. O semblante contraído sumira. Esperei que o silêncio dele terminasse.

– O que você quer saber?, disse ele.
 – Sobre os negócios, respondi.

Foi então que João Augusto Rezendes Henriques disse, sem abaixar a voz ou olhar para os lados: “Do que eu ganhasse (*no contratos intermediados com a Petrobras*), eu tinha de dar para o partido (PMDB). Era o combinado, um percentual que depende do negócio”. A colherzinha não tilintava mais.

Iniciava-se, ali, um desabafo motivado pelas denúncias que ÉPOCA investigava havia cerca de um mês. O caso envolvia a Petrobras – maior empresa do país, 25º do mundo, com faturamento anual de R\$ 281 bilhões. Começara com apenas uma pista: um ➤

contrato assinado em 2009, em Buenos Aires, entre o advogado e ex-deputado Sérgio Tourinho e o argentino Jorge Rottemberg. No documento, previa-se que Tourinho receberia US\$ 10 milhões de uma empresa no Uruguai, um conhecido paraíso fiscal, caso a Petrobras vendesse a refinaria de San Lorenzo, avaliada em US\$ 110 milhões, ao empresário Cristóbal Lopez, conhecido como czar do jogo na Argentina e amigo da presidente Cristina Kirchner. À primeira vista, o contrato não fazia sentido. Por que um lobista de Buenos Aires se comprometeria a pagar US\$ 10 milhões a um advogado brasileiro, de Brasília, caso esse advogado, sem experiência na área de energia, conseguisse fechar a venda de uma refinaria da Petrobras na Argentina?

ÉPOCA foi buscar a resposta em entrevistas com participes do negócio, parlamentares e funcionários ligados ao PMDB. O advogado Tourinho era sócio dos lobistas do PMDB, que trabalhavam em parceria com Jorge Zelada, diretor internacional da Petrobras desde 2008 e, segundo João Augusto, apadrinhado do PMDB. A operação

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San Lorenzo, diz ele, não era um caso isolado. Era mais um dos muitos negócios fechados pelos operadores do PMDB na área internacional da Petrobras. De acordo com João Augusto, todos os contratos na área internacional da Petrobras tinham de passar por ele, João Augusto, que cobrava um pedágio dos empresários interessados. De acordo com ele, de 60% a 70% do dinheiro arrecadado dos empresários era repassado ao PMDB, sobretudo à bancada mineira do partido na Câmara, principal responsável pela indicação de Zelada à Petrobras. De acordo com João Augusto, o dinheiro servia para pagar campanhas ou para encher os bolsos dos deputados. O restante, diz ele, era repartido entre ele próprio e seus operadores na Petrobras – os responsáveis pelo encaminhamento dos contratos.

Segundo João Augusto e outros quatro lobistas do PMDB, o dinheiro era distribuído a muita gente em Brasília. A maior parte seguia para os dezenas de deputados do partido em Minas, entre eles o atual ministro da Agricultura, Antonio Andrade, e o presidente

da Comissão de Finanças da Câmara, João Magalhães. O dinheiro, de acordo com João Augusto, não ficava apenas com essa turma. Segundo o relato dele e dos outros lobistas, o secretário das Finanças do PT, João Vaccari, recebeu o equivalente a US\$ 8 milhões durante a campanha presidencial de Dilma Rousseff em 2010. João Augusto diz que organizou, com Vaccari, o repasse para a campanha de Dilma. O dinheiro, segundo ele, foi pago pela Odebrecht, em razão de um contrato bilionário fechado na área internacional da Petrobras, que dependia de aprovação do então presidente da estatal, José Sergio Gabrielli, do PT. À Justiça Eleitoral, a campanha de Dilma declarou ter recebido R\$ 2,4 milhões da Odebrecht.

O coordenador financeiro da campanha de Dilma Rousseff, José de Filippi Júnior, afirma que não conhece João Augusto. "Posso garantir que ele não participou da arrecadação de recursos para a campanha da presidente Dilma Rousseff, que toda arrecadação foi feita por meio de Transferência Eletrônica

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Bancária, e que as contas da campanha da presidente foram aprovadas pelo Tribunal Superior Eleitoral", diz.

As denúncias de João Augusto são contestadas pelos acusados. Vaccari diz que não era responsável pela tesouraria da campanha de Dilma. Afirma ainda que "todas as doações ao PT são feitas dentro do que determina a legislação em vigor e de uma política de transparéncia do PT". Gabrielli diz, por meio de nota, não ter conversado sobre o contrato da Odebrecht com Vaccari. Zelada afirma desconhecer a atuação de João Augusto na intermediação de contratos na Petrobras e nega ter sido indicado pelo PMDB. A Petrobras informou em nota que não comentaria o assunto. Apesar de todas as contestações, a reportagem de ÉPOCA confirmou, por meio de entrevistas em três cidades, vários pontos do depoimento de João Augusto. Investigações oficiais ainda são necessárias para apurar todas as suas denúncias.

UMA DIRETORIA PARA O PMDB

Em janeiro de 2008, o então presidente, Lula, aceitou entregar a Diretoria Internacional da Petrobras ao PMDB.

Mais especificamente, ao grupo que comanda o PMDB da Câmara dos Deputados. Engenheiro de carreira da Petrobras, João Augusto fora apresentado à política em meados dos anos 1990, quando era diretor da BR Distribuidora, a empresa de combustíveis da Petrobras. Para fazer qualquer operação de relevo na BR, João Augusto precisava do apoio dos demais diretores. No começo, nunca conseguia. "Não tinha a menor ideia de como as coisas funcionavam", diz. "Mas aí conheci o Benjamin Steinbruch (*dono da CSN*), que me explicou como era preciso ter apoio político para fazer as coisas. O Steinbruch ligou para o Tasso Jereissati (*do PSDB*), que ligou para o Marcelo Alencar (*governador do Rio de Janeiro, também do PSDB*). O Alencar avisou o Joel Rennó (*então presidente da Petrobras*): 'Ô, o João Augusto está com a gente'", diz João Augusto. E ri das lembranças. "Eu não tinha ideia do que 'estar com a gente' significava... A partir dali, mudou muito. Da água para o vinho. Tudo passava. Você vai mudando. O mundo real é outro, e eu tinha de me adequar a ele." Em pouco tempo, João Augusto migrou dos tuca-

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